



LEADERLESS RESISTANCE
NEW TACTICS FOR AN OLD WAR
WISCONSIN
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

We are losing the Cold War, the Cold War that has burned more than our fingers. We appear to have forgotten that cold wars become hot in spots and, eventually, burst into full flame.

The enemy has adopted new tactics, tactics that make the classic underground system obsolete, tactics that doom great secret organizations because they can no longer remain secret.

Our partiality for bigness has betrayed us. Because we have money and have learned its power, we believe that unlimited money can do everything. Partisans of free enterprise and private initiative, we tend toward monopoly and the chain store and we betray our overconfidence in Hugeness even in the delicate business of intelligence and psychological warfare.

Masses of our "secret" agents, like teams of door-to-door canvassers, fan out into semi-enemy country and even into wholly hostile territories, button-holing prospects, shoving intelligence questionnaires under their noses, a thousand dollar bill in one hand and a pen for the dotted line in the other. The prospect is encouraged with, "There's more where this came from."

It is a field day for the phony and a bonanza for the Bolshevik who "never had it so good". False information and "planted" intelligence is sold at a grand a throw. In the middle of it all, it is simple for the enemy to observe and tabulate our agents. The law of averages inevitably yields a percentum of the indiscreet, a fraction of the venal and an occasional traitor. We try to buy loyalty with dollars, forgetting that the price of disloyalty is self-interest.

Phalanxes of our agents swarm over the Western termini of Eastern underground organizations and the trail is followed by the enemy. Loyal but desperate members of the underground know all this, realize that they have been penetrated and prudently lie low, great sources of rebellion against oppression shackled to impotence. In the Kremlin and in the multiple schools where the Doctrine of Desertion, the Law of the Lie and the Science of Subversion are brilliantly taught to apt Red pupils, Western adherence to obsolete methods is gleefully noted and enthusiastically exploited.

Communist propaganda services have given us three examples of the insecurity of large underground systems, especially when in contact with numbers of starry-eyed Western enthusiasts. According to published reports of the Warsaw Security Services, Americans used the Polish Political Emigration in order to reach the Polish Underground system known as WIN (Freedom and Independence).

But Communist security agents had penetrated the Polish Political Emigration and thus were able to follow negotiations. First, they reported that WIN received help from three important Polish emigre political groups, PPS (the Polish Socialist Party), SND (the Party of People's Democrats), and NID (the Independence and Democracy Party), as well as from the headquarters of the Polish military organization-in-exile.

The WIN leader in Poland was uncovered, arrested together with his deputy, and, under torture, revealed detailed information on WIN activities in Poland, also disclosing WIN's contacts with Polish political refugee organizations and with British and American governmental organizations. And so, WIN and its hosts of eager patriots have been lost.

The Warsaw Security Services revealed a second "coup". They discovered and arrested two parachutists who, it was claimed, had been trained at an American Intelligence school in Western Germany. Intelligence school teachers had invited Polish poli-

tical emigres to lecture the students. Communist security agents were among the lecturers. When the parachutists were dropped, Polish internal agents were waiting: seized American equipment and documents.

The Warsaw Security Services revealed another "coup". Two of their agents, a Mrs. Homa and a Mr. Weber, had been working with British and American services. Their usefulness nearing its end, they returned to Poland "with Western money and extensive information."

The "wealth of documents and secret data" derived from these three cases have been used to uncover Polish patriot resisters and to catalogue Polish political emigres and their contacts with members of British and American governmental organizations. Some of the material was used in the January 1953 trial of Polish Catholic priests in Cracow. Other trials, soon to be held, will present charges based on other information not yet released.

Though the usual allowance for Communist extravagance and demagoguery must be made, yet the Soviet-Polish Warsaw "revelations" contain much that Polish emigres believe to be correct. The Polish political emigration has been seriously compromised and views the methods of Western subversive and intelligence organizations with alarm, claiming that they are irresponsible, financially extravagant and that Westerners care too little for the loss of underground members' lives.



CERTAIN LESSONS MUST BE DRAWN:

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1. In all countries within the Soviet orbit, political action must be segregated from intelligence and subversive activity. Emigre political organizations must not be permitted any contact with intelligence services. Political organizations must not receive aid or advice from intelligence services. Emigre political contacts with Western governments must be maintained only with Western political services.
2. Political emigre organizations must never be entrusted with tasks of a military intelligence or subversive nature. Subversive activity must be entrusted only to elite groups, small in size, strictly isolated from one another.
3. American intelligence should aim to construct its own intelligence network, a network never to be connected with emigre political institutions. Emigre groups always were and always will be sources of dangerous misinformation. Not only are emigre groups highly susceptible to enemy penetration, but no emigration has ever had the capacity to evaluate conditions in its home land objectively. Emigre groups are useful chiefly for their ability to organize political life in the enemy's rear.
4. Political emigres--even those connected with underground activities--should never be allowed to become instructors, lecturers or even guest speakers at intelligence training schools.
5. While a political emigration may be regarded either as a potential political ally or enemy, it must be used only as a tool of primary importance. The authority it enjoys in the land of its origin must not be undermined by the performance of tasks that belong to subversive organizations.
6. Should an underground organization, whether American or emigre, be exposed--even partially--it must be considered as lost. It should never become the basis for the construction of a new organization or another intelligence project.
7. Individuals who proved successful in underground work under the Germans are not to be considered automatically qualified for work under Soviet occupation. Current psychological, moral and technical factors are vastly different, and so are the loyalties.

We are losing a cold war we should be winning. It is not only that we lack determined initiative, but we remain slaves of tradition, servants of the classic concept of the great underground system with its cells everywhere and its couriers swarming from center to center. The day of the large underground has passed. Soviet thoroughness has destroyed its potential.

A new phenomenon has appeared, an almost mass hysteria accompanied by a near-nihilistic disregard for personal safety and contempt for authority of whatever character. The Soviet High Command has noted it. Kremlin fears of it are back of the great and surprising peace demands. Soviet Russia does not want too much trouble at Western hands until danger in the Red house has been mastered.

Leaderless resistance is sweeping the Soviet orbit. It is a spontaneous movement entirely unencumbered by the ballast of "political representations" which, as has been shown, are being liquidated by a vigilant security as one leader after another is being picked up and liquidated.

Leaderless resistance is unencumbered by political or material bargaining. It is not based on "we will do this if you will do that"; "we need a million dollars; then we will act"; "we will cooperate with you if, after victory, you will recognize our Party as the initial government of our country!";

World War II's theory of "the Disintegration of the Axis" was based on the persuasion of high Axis officials to abandon a lost cause. Today, the situation is completely opposite. Tito did what he did without outside guidance. But, today, there are no more Titos, not even potential ones. There are no leaders of sufficient importance to approach. But, there are masses of peoples in every walk of life eager to perform their personal act of apostasy.

The tendency is to attempt to canalize the personal resisters into "organizations". This is more than foolish, it is death. It is child's play for Soviet security agents to penetrate the budding organizations. The organizing of resisters suits the Soviets very well and the tendency of satellite politicians-in-exile to build their "own organizations" is sheer madness. Western acceptance of emigre ambition is a technique "one war late", obsolete by one complete period of history.

In the event of war, obviously the West would like the satellite armies to "come on over". This can be achieved only if we are able to create among the rank and file of these armies the proper climate and a genuine desire to do so. No organization is capable of accomplishing this thing. No one's orders would be obeyed. But the rank and file would come over if their morale were properly influenced. For this we do not need "leaders"; we need leading ideas.

These ideas would produce leaders. The masses would produce them and the ideas would be their inspiration. Therefore, we must create these ideas and convey them to the restless peoples concerned with them.

This paper began with the premise that, though we give lip service to private enterprise, we tend toward monopoly even in the delicate business of intelligence and subversion. The apparently logical trend toward concentrating everything concerning intelligence and subversive warfare into one body actually is both illogical and dangerous because it leaves that chosen instrument with a supreme authority that cannot be controlled by verification and comparison. Because the operations of an effective intelligence service must be secret, large gaps and unexplored possibilities will always remain, since one cannot centralize the unknown.

Our eggs are all in one basket. Apparently we want the enslaved peoples to put all their eggs in one basket. The Soviets want

us and them so to do.

There should be a Free Enterprise for Freedom that will help tap the wrath of the wronged and aid to usher in the era of Leaderless Resistance when new leaders will be discovered and the already alarmed Soviet security police will be overthrown.

The phenomenon of Leaderless Resistance has begun to manifest itself. In earlier ISI General Reports and Special Letters you have read how unrest is spreading in the Soviet Orbit and you have seen ISI's "psychosis of escape" hit first one country and then another. And now you are reading in the newspapers how un-led thousands are openly defying Bolshevik armed authority.

It could be a day of reckoning. It could be the time when Bolshevism would pull in its lines, sullenly giving up one country after another--and with no danger of general war. But none of this will happen unless America makes it plain that peoples who have been subdued by force or trickery will have their freedom recognized whenever they themselves adequately proclaim it.

Phony peace will not save the world from war. It will only save Bolshevism from self-destruction. If we continue to cede the initiative to the Reds, the Reds will repair their deficiencies and, one day will re-start their massive aggressions.

The present interlude is a deception used so often in Bolshevik history that we have no excuse for being fooled once again. The only way to avoid eventual war is to prevent the enemy from waging it. 3 JULY 1953

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